632 12 men under the orders of the *barrio* chief.
625 The latter has the duty of notifying individuals when they are to serve. Each *barrio* provides the *ronda* for a week in turn, and each individual serves a week every time he is called. Theoretically, every adult male is expected to perform this service, but the men over 40 or 50 years and persons of some distinction are seldom if ever asked. One of the assistants in the project, member of the committee in charge of communal property and a school teacher, had not been asked to serve for several years. Neither do the storekeepers serve; instead, they give a package of cigarettes or some 10 centavos to
[431] those who do serve. There is no obligation, nor any regularity, about this gift. The average man who is asked to serve probably is called on four or five times a year.

. *Comisionados* may also be named if funds
632 are to be raised for some special municipal
651 purpose. The purpose may be to send a delegation to Morelia or Mexico City to look after the interests of the town in some affair, or to purchase material for some public work for which funds are not available in the treasury, such as the materials for the water tanks. This may happen twice in a year or may not occur at all. The *comisionados* are charged with collecting the money in their *barrio* or whatever area is designated.

There are many *comisionados* in connection
796 with fiestas. For the fiesta of the patron saint
632 in October, some 70 *comisionados* are named to raise funds for music, fireworks, and other expenses of the fiesta. A group is named by the mayor for each *barrio*, and it has the responsibility of raising money through taking up a collection (or members paying out of their own pockets), conducting negotiations with musicians or fireworks makers, and seeing that the work is completed. In addition, four men are commissioned each to provide a moro
[535] dancer. The *comisionado* has to seek out a dancer, pay for his food and costume, and take care of him during the fiesta. Finally, at least 40 young men (10 or more from each *barrio*) are commissioned to provide poles for building the bull ring. The total for this fiesta is not less than 114 *comisionados*.

For the fiesta of Corpus, eight *comisionados* are named for each *barrio* for each occupation

527 624 533 pay the musicians, these might be employed to help pay for the meals. Usually the commissioner and his assistants were each responsible for serving one meal at his house. When a band is invited, usually 5 or 10 pesos are paid in advance and a written contract is signed, stating the amount to be paid and the time the music is to play. It is customary always to invite a band from outside, although sometimes the local band is hired. In 1940 the two bands were from Nahuatzen and Pichataro.

527 624 535 One commissioner for the moros is named from each *barrio*. He has no assistants and does not collect money, paying the entire expense out of his own pocket. The commissioner finds a young man who knows the dance and persuades him to dance. He does not ordinairily pay the dancer (who receives gifts from storekeepers and others during the fiesta), but he must feed him breakfast and dinner (but not supper) throughout the fiesta. The commissioner also must assemble the costume, usually renting the more expensive parts, provide a horse with a good saddle, and attend on the moro all the time he is dancing, looking after his needs and making any necessary adjustments or repairs in the costume. The shirt, trousers, and shoes are bought and are presented to the moro.

In 1940 only three moros appeared. The fourth commissioner was a forest worker away from home during the week. On investigation, it developed that the policeman delivered the letter to the man's wife, who claimed she mislaid the letter and forgot to give it to her husband. No one believed her, but nothing [558] could be proved otherwise. Certainly the family's prestige in Cherán went down, for everyone was annoyed that only three moros appeared.

527 624 358 The four commissioners for the bull ring are all younger men. The commissioner for *barrio* I, Plácido Romero, had four assistants. None of these had to provide services but aided in seeing that the other young men complied with their obligations. Each *barrio* had to provide 18 long peeled pine trunks and 7 stout posts. In most *barrios* each young man had to bring either a post or a pole, but in *barrios* with small population, such as No. I, it was necessary to bring two. When the materials are all

527 533 [534] Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided, the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger stops) played in unison, accompanied by a drum. They played for some time in the arcade before the municipal building. The shrill music, played with great verve and noise, seemed vaguely familiar and finally became recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It remained the favorite and almost only piece played by the *chirimía* band throughout the fiesta.

527 [443] [323] Sunday the market was in full operation, and the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only were most of the residents of Cherán on the streets, in some cases making extensive purchases (this is the only time of the year that pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but there were hundreds of visitors. The bands played early in the morning. The young men were busy working on the bull ring.

[796] 527 535 The High Mass was celebrated about 10 o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing. About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on horseback, followed in a short time by the other two. They rode slowly around the plaza, followed by one of the bands. After a short time the moros went to lunch without dancing.

[574] Many people invited guests home to eat with them at this time, often issuing invitations well in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3 o'clock the moros returned and sat on their horses in the plaza in front of the church while the bands played. The moros then went to the *municipio*, dismounted, and danced in front of the building. Remounting, they returned to the church and danced in front of the church. Many people were openly critical of them for not dancing first in front of the church. After the performance in front of the church, the dancers went on foot down the main street, dancing in front of various stores until about 6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During

[542] the afternoon a basketball game was played between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little interest.

527 389 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks set was to be burned. Not until after dark

796 794 [535] kéŋi, who serves them *posole*. Afterward they return home. On this occasion, also, the *colector* is supposed to sponsor a dance called *los viejitos* in which five boys and five girls take part (some say six of each sex). The girls are said to be the future *uanánčes*.

Although the new *prioste* takes office on December 8, the duties of the *prioste* do not end until the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, the Santo Niño. On this occasion he is obligated to accompany the *uanánčes* while they dance.[36]

The *uanánčes* mentioned above are a group of young girls selected by the *prioste*. (This is contradicted in a sense by the fact that some parents make a vow for their girls to serve as *uanánčes*, for example, if the girl is sick when small.) They act as servants of the *prioste*, going every day to the church (usually accompanied by their mothers). At church they sweep, bring flowers for the altars, and help keep things in order. At Christmas time they perform a sort of *pastorela* dance, aided by other girls. One of the girls is known as the šuŋánda and is regarded as the first or leader. She is in charge of the incense, the "one who carries copal." The other girls have no special names.

578 794 793 Frequent references have been made to the quarrel between the *cabildo* and the new priest. The motivations and the exact events probably were not discovered. In any case, the roots of the quarrel go far back in time. Ostensibly, however, the fight started with the departure of the old priest.

So far as could be ascertained, the first overt act in the struggle was the calling of a *junta* on the matter. While the *junta* was called by the mayor, in this he was merely conforming to the custom of calling such a meeting whenever it was requested. The request was made by one David Guerrero, a somewhat surly and unapproachable person (so far as the staff of the study were concerned) who ran a small store and saloon (mostly the latter) not far from the plaza. Guerrero's motivations seem obscure. He was not particularly active in the church. Neither did he seem to belong to any

[36] It should be noted that the above account is based on data from informants. Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo* none of the ceremonies were performed in 1940. The data are from musicians who always attended and from members of the *cabildo*.

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788 candle or a garment, is taken on the occasion of such pilgrimages.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE SANTO NIÑO

796 The *mayordomía* of the Santo Niño or the Holy Child, celebrated December 25, is the most expensive of the *mayordomías* of the *cabildo*. [534] More than any other it may be undertaken for motives of social prestige and ostentation. The *carguero* in 1940, according to his wife, did not take the post as result of a vow, but simply for pleasure, "*no mas por gusto.*"

The new *carguero* assumes his duties on December 26. The previous day and night the image connected with the *mayordomía* is left in church. The new *carguero* takes the image from the church to his house. Previously, he prepares a special place for the image with the help of invited relatives and friends whom he feeds. Usually the place for the image is the "*troje.*" Everything is removed from the room, a suitably decorated altar is prepared, and often an alcove is built up of boards and lined with colored paper. Strips of colored paper are hung from the ceiling and ornaments are sometimes suspended from the ceiling as well. Miniature objects—chairs, metates, dolls, etc.—are frequently hung from the ceiling also.

During the year, the *carguero* has few duties. He keeps the image in good condition and always ready for visits of persons who may wish to say prayers and who often leave a few alms or burn a candle in honor of it. The *carguero* also begins accumulating food and property for the ceremonies. He plants as much corn and wheat as possible and prepares animals for fattening. He also accumulates cash. If necessary, he may be helped by his brothers and cousins.

796 The first act of the *carguero* is to assemble dancers to perform the dance of the *negritos* ● 535 (pl. 6, lower left). In this also he is helped by his brothers, who invite various young men to perform. The *carguero* also hires a teacher to teach the dancers their steps and their speaking parts, *relatos*. For about a week before December 25, the dancers rehearse in the house of the *carguero* and food is provided, at least in theory. In 1940 one of the assist- 796 ants, Agustín, was a *negrito* dancer and com-

mented that the *carguero* did not seem to wish to give even cigarettes. To which Pedro Chávez, our progressive and anti-Church assistant, replied sagely that this was because the *cabildo* had been abolished.

On the evening of December 24, candles are burned at night before the image in the house of the *carguero*, and he, his family and relatives, and the dancers and their relatives sit up with the image but do not participate in other activities of the *mayordomo*. The *uanánčes* are also present. All are given food by the *mayordomo* in the late afternoon before dark. About midnight the image is taken to visit the image of the Child Christ in church and a Mass is held at the expense of the *carguero*, who also provides special candles for the occasion. The image in the church is put in a reclining position in a crib where it remains until January 1.

After the Mass, whch does not end until nearly morning, the men go home, but return at an early hour to the house of the *carguero* for breakfast. The women remain in the *carguero's* house, assisting in preparing the meals for the dancers. After breakfast the men either return home or accompany the *carguero* as he cares for the dancers who now go out to dance in various houses. The dancers perform the days of the 25th, 26th, and 27th. During this time food is provided for them and many people assist in the food preparations. The dancers provide their own costumes for this affair, but the music, a band of wind instruments, is hired by the *carguero*. At the houses where the dancers perform they are given gifts of fruits and things that children would like (because it is a fiesta of the Child Christ).

In addition to the *negrito* and *pastorela* dances connected with the December 25 events, three other groups of dancers sometimes appear, the *melebris*. Neither they nor the *pastorela* are connected with the *mayordomía*. They are discussed in connection with the dances.

The expenses of this *mayordomía* are between $500 and $700. Music is hired for a week (for part of the practice as well as for the dancing), an expense of about $200. One or two beeves usually are killed and about three fattened pigs. As much as 15 *fanegas* of maize may be consumed. Quantities of bread are also purchased, and *charanda* forms a considerable

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796 has under his orders the anyítakuas or *"semaneros."*

794 The latter are those in charge each week of the hospital or *yurišo*. This duty rotates by street blocks. Each week seven or eight families must go to a house beside the church and one of the group prepares food for the remainder and for any sick persons in the town. This service occurs about every 3 months. Those whose service occurs the first 2 weeks in December must provide a group of *pastorela* dancers; those whose service is the second 2 weeks must provide a competing group. The dancers perform December 24, 25, 26, and 31. Dances of the "little old men," *viejitos*, are associated with the *pastorelas*.

See Appendix 2 for further comparative data.

DANCES

796 The dances performed at Cherán are all associated with some religious festival. Or-
535 ganization of the majority of them is part of the duties of the *mayordomo*, although the moros are connected with the fiesta, while a number of unorganized independent dances are given around December 25. At least three of the dances have spoken parts and are essentially dramatic performances. All center around the birth of Christ, December 25, and the visit of the Three Kings, January 6. The greatest public interest, however, seems to attach to the dance of the moros, connected with the fiesta of the patron saint. Participation in dances is voluntary, although vows may be taken by an individual, or a child may be promised to a dance by its parents.

THE MOROS

The dance of the *moros* (Moors) is widespread among the Tarascan towns and generally appears to be associated with the fiesta of the patron saint. Usually only four dancers appear. In Cherán, commissioners are named, each seeking a dancer and providing the costume and the horse ridden by the moro part of the time. Good horses are sought and one that will "dance" to the music is especially desirable.

The *moros* wear a pair of trousers extending part way down the calf of the leg and slashed to the knee on the outside. These trousers are usually of velvet with rich decoration in

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796 gold braid and ornaments. Underneath is
●535 worn an ordinary pair of cotton *calzones*. The lower part of the legs is wrapped in cloth to represent leggings. A richly decorated velvet cape is worn over the shoulders, with gold braid and fringe about the edges and gilt ornaments and often small mirrors scattered profusely over the rest of the cape. Underneath is worn a bright-colored rayon shirt.

The headdress is a complicated crown of split cane with a number of upright pieces a foot or more in height. The crown and uprights are decorated in brightly colored papers, feathers, and bright ornaments, including small mirrors. The face is almost covered with a bright rayon kerchief. Shoes are worn. A pair of spurs, with very large metal disks in place of the rowels, completes the costume. The trousers, cape, and headdress are usually rented for the occasion by the commissioner. The rest of the costume is purchased and presented to the dancer by the commissioner.

The *moros* parade about on their horses a good deal and also dance, especially at the stores and *cantinas*, where they are given small presents, cookies, cigarettes, money, or drinks. They usually dance singly or in pairs. The steps are simple shuffling steps designed to give as many opportunities to clash the spurs together as possible. The figures of the dance are not well defined but appear related to European country dances. Realizing from previous experience that without skill in choreographic description (and being unable to
[126] witness the dances closely), attempts to record steps and figures are of little value, the writer made no effort to secure details.

THE NEGRITOS

The *negritos*, turí'a, appear in connection with the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, December 25. The brothers and relatives of the *carguero* invite people to dance. Persons who accept give a promise and have to appear. Thirty to thirty-five unmarried young men or
[883] boys are sought, "alert people, good learners, who can read." Also, anyone who wishes may volunteer. In addition to the young men, four little girls participate. Each dancer picks a godmother, who is known as the koroníče.

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535 796 Usually the dancer picks one of his existing godmothers whom he likes. The godmother dresses the dancer and takes care of his costume, keeping it in her house at night.

The *negritos* wear a regular "citified," *catrin* costume, that is, dark-colored trousers and a woolen sack coat and shoes. They wear a black wooden mask but with European type features. The mask is decorated with many silk ribbons fastened to the top of the mask and hanging down over the head and nearly to the ground behind the dancer. The ribbons are about 2 inches wide and are of many colors. As they are 7 meters long, each ribbon is looped down and back two or three times. There is some competition among the dancers to have the most ribbons, and wealthy young men may wear as many as 24. "Earrings" are suspended from the ears, and a number of strings of beads are worn. Gloves are worn (pl. 6, lower left).

The costume is provided by the dancer. Part is rented and part is purchased. In the case of one *negrito* dancer in 1940, the following expense was involved:

[435] [427]

Mask (rent)	$0.50
Ribbons (rent)	8.50
Suit (rent)	6.00
Shirt (purchase)	5.00
Shoes (purchase)	9.50
Necktie (rent)	.50
Total	$30.00

The *negrito* dance, properly speaking, is not a dance at all. The group recites a *relato* or relation of some length, sings several songs, and walks through a number of not very complicated figures. Ordinarily, they are in two files, with one of the little girls at each end. From time to time, the two files will march forward or backward or each file will walk in a circle or one file will make a circle about the

535 other (fig. 16). Occasionally each pair of
796 *negritos* will walk to the head of the line and back while the two recite their part of the *relato*.

535 The teaching of the *relato* and of the dance
538 is done by a specialist hired for the occasion by
796 the *carguero*. The best-known specialist is Gregorio Castillo, although he was not hired in 1940. Castillo also teaches the dance of the *viejos, Europeos* or *Españoles*, as he prefers to call it, and was hired to teach the group in 1941. He had been teaching the dances for 28 years (in 1940). His *relatos* he wrote himself. He secured many *relatos* locally and also sent to Mexico City and Guadalajara for others, but he liked none of them. (But several people said they were very tired of Castillo's *relatos*, which have been the same for 20 years and which they felt were not very good anyway.) Castillo feels that the *negrito* dance is especially fine and that the *negritos* of Cherán are superior to any he has seen in other towns. The only time he admits having seen a better dance than that of Cherán was once when Aranza borrowed his *relato* and had especially elaborate costumes. Nahuatzen *negritos* have a better dress than those of Cherán, but they are no longer trained.

Castillo, perhaps because it is not in his field, believes the *pastorela* to be a very inferior performance. It is, he says, merely a lot of children dressed up prettily but knowing neither their lines nor their dance. The *negrito*, on the other hand, is a nice clear *relato*, all divided into acts, and the performers are old enough to learn their parts.

Castillo's *relatos* are, naturally, part of his stock in trade. While he was cooperative and willing to permit them to be copied, he would do so only at a price commensurate with their value to him. This price seemed more than they would be worth as documents, particularly

[Text continues on p. 146 a]

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FIGURE 16.—Figures executed in the *negrito* dance. *P* indicates *pastores*.

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535 538 796 as it is evident that they contain much literary echo and perhaps are almost entirely derived from literary sources. As considerable portions of the *relatos* were secured from Agustín Rangel, assistant on the project, who participated in both dances in 1940–41, it was felt the expense of securing the complete *relatos* was not warranted.

535 796 539 The following is the *relato* of Agustín Rangel for the *negrito* dance (spelling as given, but punctuation added):

First act: Music, followed by a song

Tu tienes! oh! Niño, las adelfas y las Rosas,
Aun en boton, con purpura brillante.
Las Azuceñas puras y olorosas
Colores en su tallo vacilante,
Las amapolas frescas y pomposas,
Se Abren, Señor, bajo tu mano amante.
Y del tomillo en las pequeñas ramas
Mil flores hermosísimas derramas.

Second act: Music, followed by a song

Second caminata, or walking figure

(during which several speak; Agustin's part is as follows:)

Bellísimo Niño de amor y de ternura,
Divina criatura,
Te doy mi cariño . . .
(Second speaking part:)
Haces crecer el Cedro en las montañas
Y el sauce a la orrilla del torrente,
Do nacen los helechos y las cañas
Y las yervas mil en la estación ardiente
De la tierra fecundas las Entrañas
Con el Calor y el agua dulcemente
Y asi los campos de verdor revistas
Tornando alegres los que fueron tristes.

Third act: Music, followed by a song

Con gusto y con amor a ofrecer passemos
Felices ya seremos nacido el Salvador.

(The following is sung as they pretend to make offerings):

Ante tus plantas postrado
Te ofrece aqui este negrito
Recibe me niño amado
Este fino Silloncito.

Fourth act: A dance

Fifth act: Music, followed by a song and the "farewell"

Adios, Niño Santo,
Con suelo y amor;
Escucha mi canto
Niño Salvador.
Benedice toditos,

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Divino Creador.
Se van los negritos
Y llevan tu amor.

TRANSLATION LINE BY LINE

Thou hast, oh Child, the rosebays and the roses,
Still in bud with brilliant purple.
The white lilies, pure and fragrant,
Colors in their waving stems,
The calm and pompous poppies,
They open, Lord, beneath Thy loving hand.
And from the small branches of the thyme
Scatterest Thou a thousand beautiful blossoms.

Act 2

Lovely Child of love and of tenderness,
Divine creature,
I give you my love.
Thou causest the cedar in the mountains to grow,
And the willow at the brink of the torrent,
Where the bracken and the canes grow,
And the thousand herbs of the warm season,
From the entrails of the fecund earth
With the heat and the sweet water,
And thus the fields you dress anew with verdure,
Turning gay those who were sad.

Act 3

With pleasure and with love we go to make offerings,
Happy that now the Savior has been born for us.
Prostrate before your feet
This *negrito* offers Thee,
Receive from me, beloved Child,
This fine little saddle.

Act 5

Farewell, Holy Child,
Comfort and love,
Hear my song,
Child Savior.
Bless everyone,
Divine Creator.
The *negritos* go
And take with them your love.

Fragments of other *relatos* remembered by Agustín are the following (given in English):

The Holy Child is born in a beautiful arcade in Bethlehem.
I have come to see your birth and to adore Thee.
Guided by a star, the *negritos* have come to witness the birth.

(Following this each told where he came from and the gift he brought: A little burro, a horse, a saddle, a dog, and different playthings.)

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The main part of the *relato* is recited by a person known as *el letra* and another called *el segundo*. These two stand at the head of the

535 two files, except for the little girls at that end of
538 the lines. When the recitation begins, *el*
796 *letra* steps forward alone and recites his part, returning to his place when finished. There is then a *caminata*, the files walking in a circle. *El segundo* then does the same, followed by a *caminata*.

The *negrito* dancers begin to learn their parts about a month before December 25. For several evenings before the date they meet in the house of the *carguero* and rehearse. The procedures beginning the night of December 24 are described as follows in an account written by Agustín Rangel:

The *negritos* started to dance about 9:00 p.m. at the *carguero's* house. There were lots of people and about 10:30 the candlemaker came to sell candles. The *negritos* finished dancing about 10:30 p.m. Then they were given supper and they sat around for a while. They were waiting for the bell to ring from the church. The bells were supposed to ring three times, first for the Holy Child to start for the church, second when the Holy Child was supposed to be half way from the *carguero's* house and the church, and third, when the Holy Child was at the door of the church to be blessed before going inside the church. There was a 12 a. m. Mass. The priest of the church came over to the *carguero's* house before the Holy Child left the house. The priest went with the Holy Child up to the church where he blessed the Holy Child before going inside the church. Lots of people went to the 12 a. m. Mass.
[373] [Note: There were several hundred persons in the procession, all with candles. The streets and houses were all lit up by the candles. In some towns it is said that pitch pine torches are carried and give even more light.]

December 25. Today the *negritos* started to dance about 9 o'clock in the morning. First they went to Mass and there they danced after the Mass. Then they came to the *carguero's* house to eat dinner. After dinner they went to church again to visit the Holy Child. Then they went home again to the *carguero's* house where they danced again. Then they went to the night Mass. After the night Mass they went inside the patio of the priest's house and danced before him. After they finished dancing, they danced in front of the municipal building before the mayor and officials. After they finished dancing there they went to the *carguero's* house to eat supper. They ate supper and every one of the *negritos* was free to go home.

December 26. Today the *negritos* started to dance first at the *carguero's* house after they had eaten breakfast. After they finished dancing at the *carguero's* house, they went to the Calvary, where they danced. After they finished there they went to Paricutín (*barrio IV*) where they danced at a house. I don't know what saint is there. Then they went to the house

[p.147b]

535 of the *carguero* of the Three Kings, where they danced in the afternoon. Then they went to eat at the 538 *carguero's* house. After they finished eating dinner, they danced and then went to the house of the new 7% *carguero* for the Holy Child where they danced until the evening. Then they came back to the *carguero's* house to eat supper. Then they separated after supper.

December 27. This morning they danced at the *carguero's* house and then they went to the house of the *carguero* of San Isidro. From there they went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Rafael. Then they went to the *carguero's* house for dinner, after which they danced. From there they went to the priest's house where they danced in front of the priest. Then they danced in front of Don Emilio's store where they were given fruit.

UNORGANIZED CHRISTMAS DANCES

535 A number of dance groups often appear at or before Christmas. Collectively they are known 7% as the *melebris*, the masqueraders. Formerly, they appeared about 10 days before Christmas Eve and then appeared every third night until December 24. Of recent years they have been forbidden because the various groups often arrived at the same house and then they would fight. In 1940 a few masqueraders were out but they went mainly to houses in their own *barrio* for fear the police might catch them.

Three types of dancers appear. First are the čúrikua anápu tuɾíča or ʂakíč, "the negroes who go out at night." This group wears ordinary clothing but with the crown of the hat decorated with cut papers representing ribbons streaming out behind. Dancers of this group also wear paper ornaments on the front and back of their clothing. They have guitar and drum music and dance a *zapateada*, that is, a sort of *jarabe tapatio* dance.

The second group is the t'aɪ́ aríriča, the dancing old men. The word "aɪi" also means a person who talks too much and who certainly does not speak the truth. This group dresses [532] like old men; the members wear a long overcoat and a black wooden mask with the beard represented. The masks are similar to those worn by the negroes of Uruapan. Some of the dancers are also dressed as women. They have five or six stringed instruments. No data were collected on the type of dance.

The third group is the apáčiča or the *salvajes* or *negritos salvajes* (Apaches, savages, or negro savages). They paint their faces to resemble the negrito masks but wear no masks. Rooster

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535 feathers are stuck in their hair, and they carry
796 bows and arrows. Their dance is purely leaping about. They form a circle, leap about, shout, and make gestures with their bows and arrows. They never speak but make a sort of buzzing noise and make signs with an arrow to indicate what they want. They have guitar and drum music.

The three groups are said to signify that when the Christ Child was born, there appeared a star and various persons had to follow the star, performing their dances in various places. The three dances represent those of the tribes of the Three Kings who went in search of the Child. The Apaches were the last and were the most savage.

535 The various groups (and more than one
584 group may appear for each dance) go about to
796 various houses where there are unmarried girls or girls approaching marriageable age, and especially to houses where one of the boys has a sweetheart. Usually the girl is warned in advance (through the agency of some small boy) if she is to be visited. She prepares presents of balls of pinole and brown sugar, wrapped in maize husks, often elaborately painted. Sometimes some of these are made in the shape of a rooster or some animal. The girl gives these to the boy who has been courting her if she favors him, and the plain pinole balls to the others. They are also often given food. One of the surreptitious groups in 1940 at a well-to-do house were given coffee with *charanda* in it and boiled squash. When the dancers first enter the house yard, they shake hands with the girl. After eating, they dance a while. Then they say a word of thanks in Tarascan, shake hands with the girl again, and leave. "The idea," said unmarried Agustín, "is just to touch the girl's hand and see how neat her cooking and housework is." Obviously the dances are significant parts of the mating selection, for on almost no other occasion would a boy have a chance to see how a girl's house was run or have a chance to touch her hand openly.

According to one informant, a burlesque of the Mass is given by the dancers. This was not verified from any other source. It is the sort of thing which might sometimes have been done, but it seems foreign to the main purpose of the dances.

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THE PASTORELA

535 The *pastorela*, or dance of the shepherds, is also performed at Christmas time. The dance 796 is particularly connected with the *cabildo* and with the *prioste*. The leaders in the dance are 857 the *uanánčes*, the four girls (six according to other accounts) who have taken incense and flowers to the church during the year and performed other services at the church. Generally they are about 10 years of age. Usually the girls have been vowed to the service by their parents as the result of illness or some other misfortune threatening the child. The time of the dance is sometimes called the fiesta of pajáču (meaning not secured).

The *uanánčes* invite a number of other girls to participate, 12 in all being needed. The girls invited by the *uanánčes* have no responsibilities other than dancing, but each of the *uanánčes* must feed the group for 1 day. The *uanánčes* also select adults to represent the parts of the devil and the hermit and also select the teacher. The girls (all the expenses, of course, are borne by their parents) also have music to accompany the dance.

For the dance the girls are dressed in the *catrin*, i.e. "citified," style, in white dresses with straw hats adorned with artificial flowers (actually the style is not citified, but is rural Mestizo). Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo*, the *pastorela* was not performed in 1940 and the actual dance could not be observed. A *relato* (in this case known as the *coloquio*) is an important part of the performance. One of the songs collected (for 535 the *pastorela* of Cheranástico) is as follows 539 (spelling as given):

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A que noche tan cremoza
Ensillad mi buen caballo
Que en Belen nos conbida de Salvador
Muy lejos tieras bengo
Agosar de una pasiada
Con gusta y contento
A juntar mi ganadito.

TRANSLATION

Ah, what a beautiful night.
Saddle my good horse,
For to Bethlehem the Savior invites us.
To very distant lands I will arrive.
I will enjoy a journey,
With pleasure and content
To bring together my cattle.

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Usually the *pastorela* is given the night of December 24 and for 2 or 3 days afterward. The dancers perform first between the church and the municipal building. Then they visit the houses of the members of the *cabildo* and the various *cargueros*. At the houses they are usually given some fruit.

In 1940 considerable feeling was engendered by the collapse of the *pastorela*, which many believed to be the pleasantest of the various dances, the more moralistic because no one drank in connection with it. Don Inocencio, the father of the first *uanánče*, the šunánda or pári, wished to give the *pastorela* so that he could comply with the promise he had made when his daughter was sickly as a small child. He was somewhat incensed because the *prioste* had spoken to the other families first and told them they should not give the dance. When Don Inocencio visited the other parents he found them unwilling to go ahead and disgusted with the whole situation. Most extreme was Tomás Hernandez, who said he would not comply with the obligation, even though it should mean losing the 10 pesos he had advanced on behalf of the group to bring the band from Tanaco. Or, he added, he might be willing to bring the band, but he wouldn't give the dance; instead, he would give a big paránda or drinking party for the benefit of themselves and not for the town.

Don Inocencio expressed great distress at this attitude. He already had fattened two pigs and expressed himself frequently as willing to go ahead with the *pastorela* if others would help. He appealed to the staff of the investigation to speak to the mayor, asking him to compel the other families to comply with their obligation; or, failing that, for permission to take up a voluntary collection. Clearly, Don Inocencio felt that the families of the other *uanánčes* were taking advantage of the dismissal of the *cabildo* to avoid their just obligations.

This suspicion of Don Inocencio's was quite correct in some cases. One of the other family heads stated that the dismissal of the *cabildo* canceled the obligation. Although his daughter had become a *uanánče* in compliance with a vow, her father announced he would not help to give the *pastorela* even though others volun-

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796 tarily contributed to the expenses. One of the more cynical assistants in the investigation pointed out that the attitude was quite understandable, as the man owed a debt of $160 to a woman in the town, who was trying to force him to pay at least half of it.

The father of another of the *uanánčes* stated that with the dismissal of the *prioste* the custom of the *pastorela* had ended and that it was unnecessary to continue. Evidently he did not care for the custom and remarked, "To me it seems best that they dismissed the *prioste*."

Another case is of some interest. Although the girl was not a *uanánče*, her parents had made a vow that she should appear in the *pastorela*. The parents made an arrangement for her to participate in the *pastorela* of Cheranástico. The Cheranástico *pastorela* evidently is somewhat different from that of Cherán. The girl would wear a red dress, a silk handkerchief covering the lower part of her face, a man's hat, and shoes and would be known as a *rancherita*. She would dance opposite a small boy partner called a *ranchero* (rancher). The *pastorela* of Cheranástico is performed January 1.

DANCE OF THE *VIEJOS* OR *EUROPEOS*

The dance of the *viejos* or *Europeos* (old men or Europeans) appears in connection with the Three Kings, January 6. Previous to 1940 the dance had been given by a volunteer group. In the afternoons, as men lounged about the streets and talked after work, people would begin to mention that the time for the dance was approaching. Eventually a group would decide that they should organize the dance. They would collect money among themselves and others and hire musicians and a teacher. In 1940, however, the *carguero* of the Three Kings, announced that giving the dance was properly part of the *mayordomía* and undertook to organize the dancers, pay the teacher and musicians, and provide food for the dancers.

The group in 1940 consisted of 30 *viejos* (but not all of them appeared all the time), three kings, and five *pastorcitas* or shepherdesses. (There should have been only four shepherdesses; we were unable to learn the reason for the extra one. Possibly someone asked to participate after the four were chosen or there

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535 were reasons why the *carguero* felt it would be politic to ask five different families.) The 796 *viejos* were mostly young men, but married men participated in this dance. They wore *vestido de catrín*, "city dress," including a long black overcoat for preference, a felt hat with a colored ribbon for the hat band and artificial flowers attached, a muffler, a handkerchief about the [532] head, shoes, and a well-made white wooden mask with black or golden beard, the features being very European.

The kings also wore masks; one was white, one rose-colored, and one black (one of the images of the Three Kings is also black). They also wore a long white wig surmounted by a crown, each one different; a long, intentionally ragged cape of colored material (really a smock in 1940); petticoats or trousers of rayon with cotton trousers underneath; rose-colored cotton stockings; and shoes (although they could wear *huaraches* or sandals). The kings merely sit or stand and do not dance. The shepherdesses are dressed in the same fashion as those for the *negrito* dance.

The dancers provide their own costumes. The cost of a *viejo* costume is as follows:

[435]

Mask ($1.50 to 2.50, rent; $5, purchase)	$ 2.50
Hat	2.00
Overcoat	3.00
Pants and vest	2.50
Muffler	1.50
Inearche (hat band?)	.50
Flowers	1.50
Shoes	$6.00–$10.00
Shirt	5.00
Necktie	.50
Total (with shoes, $25–$29)	$19.00

All the items listed above are for rent except the shirt, which is purchased. If the dancer had no shoes, he normally bought a pair.

[532] The local masks are expensive and are regarded as inferior. Those from Sevina and Cheranástico are said to be cheaper and better. The masks of the kings in 1940 were inferior local products; good masks had been ordered from Sevina but did not arrive in time.

The early part of the dance is really a recitation. The *viejos* form in two files, each with a shepherdess at each end (two at one end in 1940), with the three kings facing the files at

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535 7% one end. First spoke a *letra* (in 1940 Agustín Rangel, assistant in the study), who gave an introduction (see below), walking up and down between the files and describing the events of the birth of Christ and the Three Kings. Then all made a circuit (fig. 17). After this, everyone (except the Three Kings but including the shepherdesses) stepped between the lines in

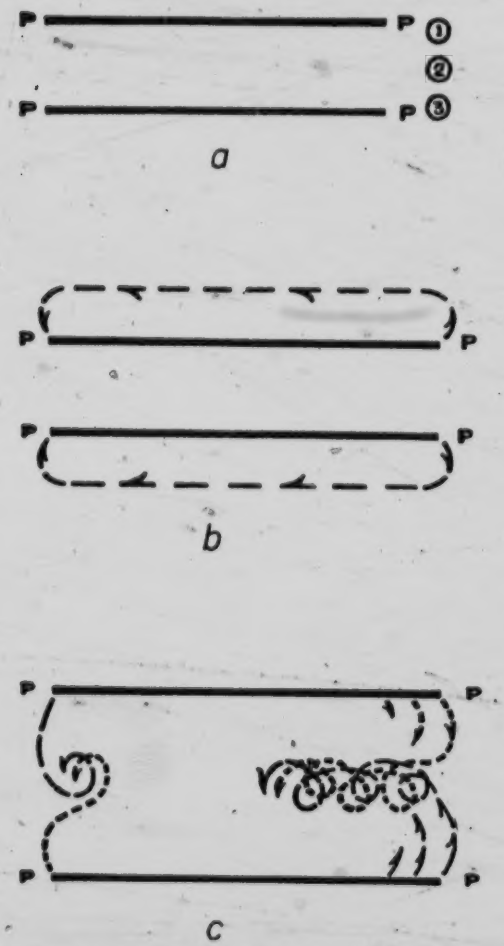

FIGURE 17.—Dance of the *Europeos*, showing various dance figures. *a*, Basic position at start of dance and in which all figures end. *b*, Circling movement. *c*, Movements of paired dancers, executed by each pair in turn, reversing the figure to return to their original position. *P* indicates the *pastores;* the numerals indicate the Three Kings.

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535 796 pairs, speaking a *relato* referring to events that had happened in those days. Then they sang a song, making another circuit. After this, the Three Kings marched between the files to the opposite end, where they were met by one of the pairs, the shepherdesses first. The Kings returned to their position, followed by the pair of dancers. Each dancer then spoke a brief verse, telling what he had brought to the Christ Child. The Kings answered. The others sang without words during this event except while the dancers spoke. This was repeated for each pair of dancers.

A pair of dancers from each end of the line now passed down the files until they met one another. Each pair held hands and danced in a circle, then reversed to the original position. The pairs then returned to their position and were followed by the others until all had danced. The *letra* then spoke a closing piece, telling everyone they should be gay. After this, each pair in succession danced a *jarabe* between the files from one end to the other. If a dancer performed very well and with much spirit, the others cried out in a falsetto voice. Sometimes they did this anyway for pleasure.

535 539 796 The *relato* of the *letra* or leader in 1940 was that composed by Gregorio Castillo and went as follows (spelling and punctuation as given):

No duda, bien lo Sabeis
Mis respetables ancianos;
El 25 del mes,
De Diciembre en la locacion:
Bajo hay del alto cielo,
Han acer en esta suela
Nuestro Dios de predencia.
Al instante los pastores,
Sabidos del gran portento;
Salen preste en el momento,
A visitar el Señor.
Dejando el campo y ganado
Asi como sus cabañas;
Ven por bosques y montanas,
Y con crecido contento,
van a ver el nacimiento
Del Niño Jesus amado.
Cuando contaba ocho dias
De nacido el Niño Amado
Fue tambien cir convencido
El verdadero mexias.
Compañeros Veteranos,
Recordar el 6 de enero
Fiesta de la epiphania,
Fue de gloria el feliz dia;

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Del bellisimo lucero,
Fue la manifestacion,
Del Niño Dios y Señor;
Por eso con todo amor,
Vamos a su adoracion.

Canto: 1ª caminata

Salid presuros,
Las glorias cantandos;
Al Nino en sal sando
Cantos de amor.

1ª Relato

Tambien Los Reyes de Oriente,
Manchan en este momento;
De Dios Niño al Nacimiento,
A ver a mi portente.
Luz de vina los va guindo
Y van a la adoracion,
En tan feliz ocasion,
La gloria le van cantando.

Ofrecimiento—Canto

Pasad al monto,
Con gusto y amor,
Ofrecer al Niño,
Amor y consuelo.
Ofrece
Te veo en humildes pajitas,
Y me postre en el instante,
Yo te adoro Nino Amante,
Y te ofresco estas conchitas.
(Pide el baile al terminar los ofrecimientos de todos.)

Baile

Pues todos nos complacemos
Yavimos tu Nacimiento
Y Todos con gusto estamos
Porque felices seremos;—
Niño Dios, bello portento,
En grupo todos nos vamos;
Al terminar la Vecita;
Mas en nuestros corazones;
Todos Fidos te llevarnos;
Jamas, jamas nos olvides,
Hoy te dicen toditos,
Hasta el año Venidero
Mas todos con Alegria
Vimos ya tus Maravillas:
¡Oh! Ninito Salvador,
Permitanos gran Senor,
Que con gusta te bailemos
Unos alegres cuadrillas;
En tan felices momentos
Adios digo companeros,
Toquen ya los instrumentos
Y los sones abajemos—

Despues del Canto

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Musica

535 Ya nos retiremos,
539 Del lugar Sagrado;
Llovando nos vamos,
796 !Oh! Jesus amado.

TRANSLATION

Do not doubt it, well you know it,
My respectable ancients,
The 25th of the month
Of December in the location
There below the high heavens
Has been born on this earth
Our Lord who takes precedence.
Instantly the shepherds,
Knowing of the great portent,
Started quickly at that moment
To visit the Lord.
Leaving the fields and the cattle
As well as their cabins;
They went through woods and mountains,
And with growing contentment,
Went to see the birth
Of the beloved Child Jesus.
When eight days were counted
From the birth of the beloved Child,
Likewise were made neighborly
The true union [meaning unclear].
Veteran comrades,
Remember the sixth of January
Feast of the Epiphany,
That happy day was glorious.
From the beautiful morning star
Came the manifestation
Of the Child, God and Lord;
For this with all love
We go to adore Him.

1st walking interval. Song

Go forth hastily
Singing the glories;
To the Child raising
Songs of love.

1st relation

Also the Kings of the East
March at this moment;
Of God the Child at the birthplace
To see my portent.
Divine Light guided them
And they went to the adoration,
On such a happy occasion,
They went singing the glories.

Offering—Song

Pass to the amount [meaning unclear]
With pleasure and love,
Offer to the Child
Love and consolation.

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The Offering

535 I see Thee on humble straw
And I prostrate myself instantly,
539 I adore Thee, loving Child,
796 And I offer Thee these little shells.
(The dance is asked for when the offerings are ended.)

Dance

Well, we all are pleased,
Now we have seen your birth,
And all are pleased
Because we will be happy.
Child God, beautiful portent,
Together we all go
To put an end to the visit.
Moreover in our hearts
All faithful we carry Thee.
Never, never forget us,
Today all tell Thee,
Until the coming year,
But all with joy,
Now we have seen your marvels;
Oh, little Child Savior,
Permit us great Lord,
That with pleasure we dance for Thee
Some joyous quadrilles.
In such happy moments,
I say "farewell companions."
Let the instruments play
And the lowland tunes . . . [Meaning not clear—possibly *abajeños* is meant, not *abajemos*, that is, "tunes of the low country."]

After the song, music is played

Now we take ourselves away
From the Sacred place.
Weeping [?] we go,
Oh! beloved Jesus.

535 538 796 The style of delivery of these *relatos* was highly declamatory and monotonous. The words were spoken in a level tone without inflection or other interpretation of their meaning.

The sense of a few of the other individual *relatos* was secured. One dancer said he was very old, so old he couldn't walk on level ground. If he couldn't walk on level ground, how was he going to walk downhill? Nevertheless, he was going to the place of the Holy Child anyway. Another said that if he got tired walking, he would go on his knees to visit the Child, even though they were scratched. Yet another complained of his high squeaky voice, but even if his voice gave out, he still would go to the Holy

535 796 [538] [626] Child. The performer with the latter lines was the only one who managed to make the crowd laugh. The remainder were greeted in silence or by asides criticizing their performance, especially several who had not learned their lines very well.

The dancers practiced at the house of the *carguero* of the Three Kings on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. The *carguero* provided food for all the performers. The ceremonies proper began on Sunday in the late afternoon. The following is the account of the proceedings as written by Agustín Rangel.

January 5, 1941. On Sunday we started for the Calvary from the house of the *carguero* at about 5 p. m. The Three Kings went on horseback. At the Calvary the Three Kings took the star (a star on the end of the pole). The King in the middle took the star and the Kings on either side took hold of a ribbon tied on each side. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we were supposed to take the saint to the church. At the church we left the saint where a vespers was given for it. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we danced. Then supper was served. Before we left, the *carguero* told us that on the next morning we had to be at his house about 6:30 a. m. [According to one informant, customarily the group should have danced at the church.]

January 6. I arrived at the *carguero's* house about 6:00 a. m. After a little, they told me to go around on some of the streets with the musicians and tell the other guys to hurry up and get over to the *carguero's* house. When the bell rang for the long Mass we all left for church. After the long Mass the priest told us we could not dance until after the Rosary. We then left for the *carguero's* house where we ate breakfast. After breakfast we danced at the *carguero's* house. We did nothing all day until after the Rosary. We went to the Rosary; after we came out we danced in the priest's house, then we danced in front of the church. After that we danced in front of the municipal building. From there we went to the house of the new *carguero* of the Holy Child where we danced and we were given oranges after we danced. Then we went home (to the *carguero's* house) where we danced before eating supper. Then we went home and were told to be at the *carguero's* house about 7:00 a. m.

January 7. On this morning we went to the church after the Mass. We were to take the Holy Kings to the house of the new *carguero*. We started from the church and we headed for the new *carguero's* house where we arrived and left it [the images] there. They told us to sit down and we were given *atole de cacao* (black atole). We danced before the atole was served and after that we left for the *carguero's* house to eat breakfast. After breafast we headed for the Calvary where we danced. Then we headed for Bruno Gaspar's house

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where we danced and were given oranges. We then went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Antonio, where we danced and were not given anything. From there we went to the store of Victoriano Turja where we danced and were given 1 liter of *aguardiente*. Then we left for the meat market of one of the *carguero*s of the Holy Kings [he means one of the principals], Don Ygnacio Duran, where we danced and recited the *relate*, the whole works, and were given oranges. From there we left for the house of [the *carguero* of] Santa Nieves, where we danced and were given money, 1 centavo apiece. From there we went to the house [of the *carguero* of] Our Lady of Guadalupe where we danced and were given limes. From there we came dancing what they call a *carnival* through the streets to the store of Don Hilario (Xhembe) where we were given sugarcane. Then we left for the *carguero's* house to eat supper. We were told to be early at his house the next morning.

January 8. The next morning we started to dance about 9 a. m. from the *carguero's* house. We went to the house of Rosalio [*representante* or representative of the town], where we danced and were given oranges. From there we went to the house of Crescencio Hernandez where they gave us a 50-centavo piece because she said [the mistress of the house] that they had not expected us to come and dance at the house. Then we went to a house on Galeana and Allende where we danced and where we were not given anything because he [the house owner] said he wasn't expecting us. Then we danced to one of the *carguero's* of the Holy Kings [meaning principal again] where we were given oranges. From there we went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Isidro where we danced and were given oranges. Then we went to [the *barrio* of] Parícutin to the place of the Virgin Inés; there we danced and were given oranges. Then from there we went to the house of the *carguero* of some saint near the barranca of Parícutin where we danced and were not given anything. Then we went to the house on the corner of Rayon and Comercio streets where we danced and were given oranges. Then we headed for the *carguero's* house to eat dinner. After dinner, we then went to the house of the Miraculous Holy Christ where we danced and were not given anything because we started to grab the oranges from the basket and the woman got sore and didn't give us anything. Then we left for the house of Don Jesús Velasquez (the main marriage manager), where we danced and were given oranges. He had invited us to go over to his house and dance. From there we went to Ricardo Queriapa where the saint of San Anselmo is. There we danced and were given oranges. But this time some of the *viejos* had separated and some of them had gone to the plaza. After we finished dancing at that lady's house we then danced at the store of Alberto Muñoz where we were not given anything. Then the Doctor invited us over to dance in front of his office. After we got through, the Doctor flipped a peso to see who would get it. One of the *viejos* got it and got drunk

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●535 with the peso. From the plaza we then went west over to the store of Don Emilio Rojas where we danced and were given a 50-centavo piece. From there we then came over to the house of Rafael Castillo, where we danced and were given two packages of cigarettes. From there we went over to the store of Benito Pahuamba, where we danced and were given a bottle of sherry. From there we went over to the *carguero's* house to eat supper, but before we ate we danced the whole works. Then we ate supper and after that they gave each of the *viejos* a loaf of white bread. But before, when we were dancing and reciting, the *carguero's* wife began to pass out sugarcane and oranges and then we went to eat. After supper we danced for a little while, up to about 11 p. m., and then we went home. We danced [this time] because that was the *combate* for this year's *mayordomía* for Don Aurelio. [The last sentence is obscure. Don Aurelio was the *carguero* for the succeeding year.]

Ordinarily the dancers appear again for 1 day at the time of Candelaria, February 2, reciting the same *relatos* but without the Three Kings. For 1941 one man had agreed to pay for the music and two others had agreed to provide food for the dancers, but for some reason the arrangement fell through. On the vespers of Candelaria, people burn pitch pine (ocote) in front of their lots.

OTHER DANCES

[857] On January 1 a group of children, 6 to 8 years old, dances in the day time. Six boys and six girls participate and are called taré sapiratiča, or the "little old men." They go to church very early in the morning and change the image of the Holy Child, which had been placed in a reclining position in a crib on December 25, placing it in a sitting position. After the Mass the children go to the house of the *colector*, where they breakfast and dance. They then go to the house of the kéri and dance. Later they go to some other houses to dance. At midday they eat at the house of the *colector* again. The dance is performed to music furnished by wind instruments. It apparently attracts little attention and often is not performed. A former *colector* stated the girls are the *uanánčes* for the ensuing year, but this fact seemed not to be generally known.

In connection with the *mayordomía* of Santa Nieves or the Virgin of the Snows, a group of girls performs a dance on August 5 for 1 day to music of wind instruments. The dance is

535 796 [532] known as the caballita uaŕáriča dance of the little horses. The figures of horses are made of withes from certain plants, with openings in the middle in which the girls stand. The head is made so it can move, and the dance consists mostly of the girls standing and moving the horses' heads in time to the music. Again, little attention is paid to the dance, and the *carguero* often does not arrange to have it performed.

In connection with the fiesta of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the *carguero* ordinarily arranges a dance known as the uáris. The dancers consist simply of unmarried girls and young women who dress in the traditional costume but perhaps with a few more ornaments than usual. They dance the usual Cherán fiesta dance in the streets.

DANCES IN OTHER TOWNS

Only a few dances were observed or learned of in other towns. The *pastorela* of Capacuaro was the most thoroughly studied, but the data remain superficial and unrelated to the ceremonial setting. The dancers are connected with the *carguero* for the December 25th ceremonies. A pole is erected in his patio with a large paper lantern suspended from the top (this is done by the kéŋi at Cherán, but use of this term was denied at Capacuaro) and a stage is erected at one end of the patio on which some of the *relatos* are given. The house is also decorated with paper flowers and pine boughs. A table altar on the porch has a *creche* with miniature figures. The dancers appear for 3 days at Christmas and again on January 1. On Christmas Eve it is claimed that they perform a very long *colloquio*, lasting 18 hours without repetition, on the stage at the *carguero's* house. Doubt of this statement seems indicated.

292 535 796 The dancers consist of between 35 and 40 *rancheritas* and *rancheritos*, boys and girls of 8 to 12. In addition, there were two "hermits" or *hermitaños*, dressed as friars with gray robes and a conical cap. They wore a rosary and carried a whip, serving, among other functions, as police (pl. 6, upper right). Two *Europeos* [532] were dressed in white wooden masks with long blonde wigs of goat hair, citified clothes, and boots (pl. 6, lower right). Three "devils" or

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"demons" were dressed in black, wearing a crown of feathers on the back of the head, with a black veil over most of the face. The devils bore such names as "cunning," *astucia*. Some of the dancers were dressed as ranchers. Two small boys represented angels (one, Michael, with a sword), but the majority were dressed in shepherd's costumes. The girls wore loose blouses, fairly long full skirts, straw hats with ribbons, and shoes. The boys wore satin blouses and bloomers, stockings, shoes, and straw hats. Pinks, blues, and whites predominated in the costumes. Both sexes carried shepherd's crooks, decorated with celluloid animals, ribbons, balls of yarn, and feathers.

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The performance begins with a long *relato* by the devils in which they talk about a journey they are going to make, the curious things they are going to see, etc. Then a *ranchera* and a *ranchero* dance a *jarabe*. The other *rancheros* supervise the two files of children. Then there is a *relato* by the dancers. Then the dancers give their crooks to friends or relatives and dance. The *Europeos* dance about the files of children alone or occasionally with the hermits. The devils and the hermits, on the other hand, constantly engage in byplay, pursuing one another. Occasionally one or two of the devils will capture a hermit and force him to dance along with them. Also, from time to time the hermits use their whips to keep the children from crowding in too much on the dancers.

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The *hermitaños* were special buffoons. One was seen "praying" before the church with his hands together but with both thumbs to his nose. Boys threw bits of stick or pebbles at them; the *hermitaños* would threaten the crowd with their whips or if they identified the offender, would pursue him with their whips—and sometimes used them if the stones had been too big.

The dances are performed first in front of the church before the saints' images, which are brought out of the church for this. Then the dancers eat in the house of the *carguero*, after which they dance. Then they go to various houses and dance. The householders give them fruit, sugarcane, peanuts, or other small gifts. Then they return to the house of the *carguero* to eat once more.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

Sierra Tarascans
Mestizo

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At primarily Mestizo San Juan Parangaricutiro on January 7 a dance of *Europeos* was observed. The two main dancers were a man and woman in burlesque of *catrin-ranchero* costumes (the "woman" was a man dressed in women's clothes). The woman wore a straw hat with artificial flowers, a well-made white wooden mask of a European woman's face, a cloth enveloping all of the head not covered by the mask, a yellow waist, and a black *ranchera's* skirt with a beautifully embroidered yellow silk apron, gloves, and a handbag. In her hands she carried a narrow woman's sash. The man wore a white wig with ribbons, white mask with black beard and attractive features, a sweater, a moro dancer's cape (but worn a little lower than the moro dancer does, so the mirror was over the man's buttocks), and several women's aprons of silk or rayon hung from about his neck. About his legs from the knees down were wrapped numerous women's belts and about his ankles were copper bells. Over one shoulder he carried a stick with one end carved into a burro's head, adorned with ribbons and with a bell hung from the neck of the burro.

The other dancers were dressed somewhat like the male leader, except the cape was black with an opening like that of a serape although worn as a cape. The lining of the cape was in brilliant colors of silk or rayon. Ornamentation of the cape was done with colored sequins. Otherwise the costume was the same, but no stick was carried.

The dance music varied according to various aspects of the dance, changes being indicated by the male leader ringing his bell. The dancers formed in two files, with the male leader at the head of one file, the woman leader at the head of the other. When the music began, the dancers leaped in the air several times and shouted in a high voice. Then the files performed several circuits; the one headed by the male making its circuit first, followed by the other. Following the circuits the dancers performed a sort of *jarabe*, but remained in one place. From time to time they leaped high in the air (individually), shouting in a falsetto voice. As they came down they spread their capes wide and, with hair and aprons flying in

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

535 796 all directions, they resembled some impossible bird.

Following this performance, the "woman" danced alone between the files, taking very small steps and with her nose high in the air. The sash she carried in her two hands at about shoulder height, raising first one hand and then the other. With her handbag dangling from one wrist, she was the perfect caricature of a *nouveau riche* young lady parading down the street. Next, the man and woman leaders danced a *jarabe tapatío* very well (except they did not use the hat) although in very restrained and "correct" fashion. Meanwhile the others danced in their places and leaped in the air and cried out from time to time.

The dance is said to be held by the young men, who organize it themselves and provide the music and meals. It follows a traditional pattern, however, in that among the first places in which the dances were performed were the house of the priest and the offices of the *municipio*.

In Parícutin the dance of the fiesta of the patron saint is apparently called either sondado uaran or turi¢auarani. The dancers wear "citified" or *catrin* clothes with masks.

Dances are also reported from some of the Mestizo towns and the *ranchos* lying along the borders of Cherán. From Tingambato a dance was brought to the Eucharist Congress held in Uruapan which much resembles in costume the feather dances of Oaxaca. A deer dance is reported from La Mojonera and Las Canoas in which the dancers wear striped or checkered clothing and have the face covered by a mask of a deer with horns. The dance is performed [534] to a tin rattle, violin, and guitar of the special type known as *panzón*, that is, one with a large sounding box. The actions of the animal are represented in the dance.

MUSICIANS

533 Frequent reference has been made elsewhere to the musicians. The organized bands are essentially parts of the ceremonial system; without them no fiesta would be complete, while they form a significant part of many *mayordomías* and dances. They appear for a great many individual functions also, such as weddings and house-roofing fiestas. As a public body they

585 The exchange of clothing for bread now began. The father and mother of the groom were the object of most attention and every effort was made to keep giving them clothing too rapidly for them to remove it. Each donor placed the garment on the recipient. Occasionally the father would succeed in getting away and dash into the house where he would remove it all. Despite this, at one time he wore about six shirts and 1our or five pairs of extra *calzones* (trousers). Three or four times during this procedure, the groom came hastily into the courtyard and entered the house to leave the bags (*morales*) and tortilla cloths he had been given.

After some exchange had gone on and part of the repayment in bread had been accomplished, a group brought in seven more large baskets of bread. Some of the older women accompanying the party brought breads made in the shape of bulls. They rushed about holding the breads between their two hands and pretended to gore others until other women finally seized them and broke them to pieces. These breads in the [532] form of bulls (and sometimes other animals) are provided by the grandparents of the groom but are used only in the period from January until after Carnival according to some informants. However, this was August, so the informants must have been in error.

585 Before the exchange of clothing and bread was completed, the godmothers began the ● 535 dancing. No one was supposed to dance until 608 the godmothers began. All the early dancers were women, mostly elderly, dancing by themselves or in pairs. When the music began to play for a second dance, elderly women with more breads in the shape of bulls began running at various persons standing around and pretending to gore them with the animal until they began to dance.

585 The dancing was interrupted at this point by the eruption of a group of men and women into the courtyard carrying baskets, cooking pots, *comals*, water buckets, etc. Two men [482] carried on a pole a huge copper pot in which tamales had been cooked. This group began to dance and everyone cleared a place, primarily because the pots were black. After a time the dancers began to wipe their hands on the sooty

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

Sierra Tarascans
Mestizo

585 The following day there is a ritual meal in the house of the bride to which come the bride's relatives and many friends. The women of Chilchota often dress in traditional Tarascan costume for this meal; wearing the *rollo* or pleated skirt. They also wear straw hats much decorated with flowers and paper streamers. Men dress in *calzones* or trousers of Indian style. If they have money, a band is hired and the group dances at every corner. The meal served consists of boiled cabbage (without meat or meat broth) and beef tripe cooked with herbs and chile.

Soon after the wedding, the groom takes the bride's parents one or two large baskets of bread, chocolate, sugar, and from $10 to $100 (depending on his economic status) to show his thanks. There is some sort of ceremony in the house of the bride's parents.

585 In San Juan Parangaricutiro, also primarily a Mestizo town, the male and female relatives
535 of the bride dance in the streets on the day of the wedding. The group has a band and dances at each street intersection in the town, the men in one file, and the women in another. The men make a circuit of the women's file and return to their places. The women do the same and then the group moves to another corner. The persons in the files are arranged according to their stature. A sister of the bride accompanies the group, and represents her. The night after the wedding the relatives of the groom do the same, lighting their way with pitch pine torches.

588 A dozen or more families in Cherán live in
586 "free union," that is, a couple lives together without marriage. In most cases one or both parties to the arrangement have been married previously and divorced according to Cherán standards but not according to law. The majority of such free unions are said to result in successful households, and children of such unions suffer no stigma. Children of free unions inherit from their parents in the same fashion as children of legal or church marriages. This type of union is said to be fairly recent, and at first persons living in this fashion were not permitted by the priest to hold any church office or to act as godparents. Children of free unions were also refused baptism. In

796 ribbons and flowers at the points. Persons of other occupations also appear similarly decorated. All throw objects at the onlookers. The ox drivers scatter seeds, the muleteers throw flour and bran, the breadmakers throw bread, the overseers scatter ink. The honey gatherers collect many honeycombs from the mountains to sell and give away. One is placed at a corner of the plaza on a greased pole. The leader of the honey gatherers on this day is called kurindure. The butchers station themselves in one of the arcades of the plaza and butcher a goat, whose blood is thrown at the people. One of the butchers disguises himself as a coyote and steals a piece of meat; the others pursue him about the plaza.

[515] [533] On the day of San Juan, June 24, both sexes bathe early in the morning. The youths provide musicians, who play while the girls are bathing. In the houses where there is a person named Juan, a roll is placed between small boards tied with a cord. Youths on horseback [526] try to seize the roll with their hands. The cord is jerked as they ride past, in order to make the task harder. The same is done on the day of San Pedro in the houses where there is someone named Pedro.

● 535 796 On the day of Santiago, *moros* and soldiers dance. The *moros* always come from the *barrio* of the *mayordomo*, while the soldiers come from the other *barrio*. They dance on the 25th and 26th, first in the chapel of the hospital, then in the priest's residence, then in the house of the mayor of the town, and then in private houses where they are given presents of fruit. Each group has a first and second captain. Each pays for 1 day of the music and serves a meal in his house. The *mayordomo* of Santiago has no expense except the Mass and another group of musicians who play at the church. The dancers gather to practice the evening before the day of Santiago at the house of the *regidor*. The *roseras* give a supper of curípo and kurúndas. The fiesta is called tzíndakua.

796 [533] On the day of the Conception, youths and girls take musicians to the Virgin and sing *las mañanitas* to her in the church.

On December 12 the image of the Virgin in the hospital is removed from the altar and placed in the middle of the chapel. Girls and boys become "brothers and sisters" by crossing

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946

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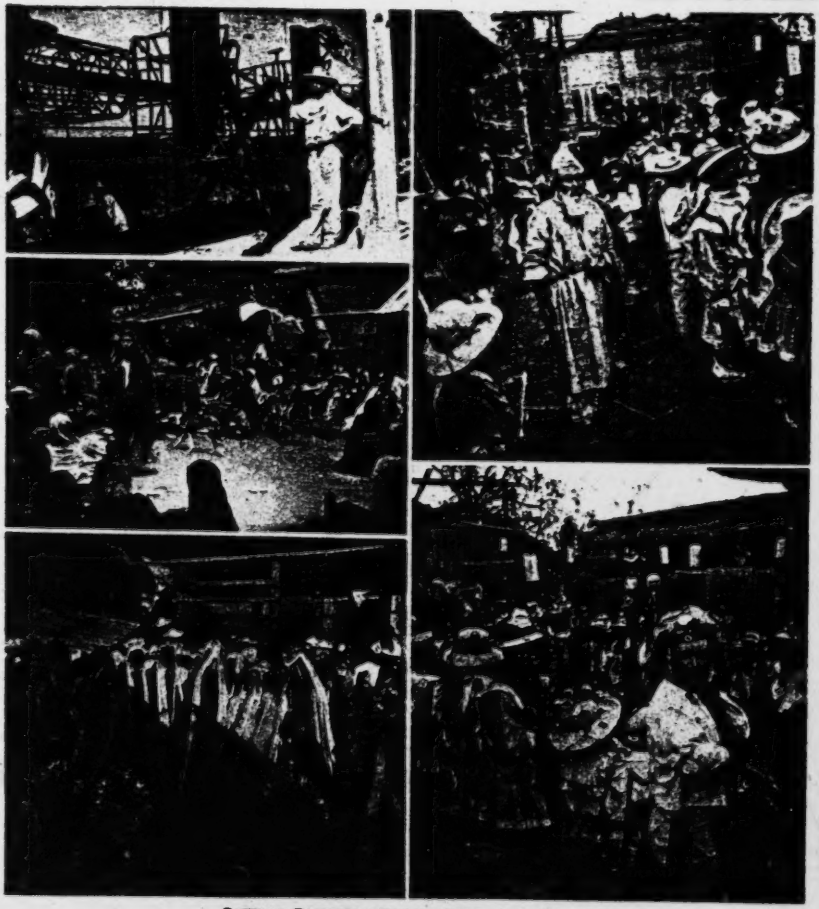

CASTILLO, PASTORELA, NEGRITO DANCERS, AND WEDDING.

Upper (left): Portion of the fireworks set (castillo) nearly completed. The fireworks maker is on the right. *Upper (right)*: *Pastorela* at Cupacuaro; at left is one of the "hermits." *Left (middle)*: Large wedding in the patio in front of the house. The kitchen is at left, the temporary cooking shed in the center. The woman at left bears a cloth-covered dish with an offering for one of the godmothers. *Lower (left)*: *Negrito* dancers performing at private house. The ribbons hang down to their heels. The "pin cushions" (foreground) are the dancers' head decorations. *Lower (right)*: *Pastorela* at Cupacuaro, with "*Sierajos*" in foreground.

[End Plate 6]

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

79% Festivals of the different saints and virgins are celebrated at the dates fixed by the Catholic calendar. Most important are the celebrations of events regarding the life of Jesus: Christmas, Lent, Holy Week, and Corpus Christi are the occasions for the main cult activities. Only the patron of each town and the cult of the Virgin attain similar importance. In all fiestas, mass is said as Catholic ritual prescribes, and other traits of ritual demanded by the Church are also performed.

79% The most important folk additions to the Catholic liturgy are dramatizations and
53% dances somehow related to the festival which is being celebrated. The Passion of Christ is the best example. Certain of the villagers dress as Jews, apostles and other characters of the story, and participate in its representation, which takes place in church under the direction of the priest. Some also police the village so that everybody will keep the precept of not working. In some villages a full stage production is performed. The celebration of Holy Week is most renowned in Tzintzuntzan.[3]

79% In Holy Week there are no dances. In other fiestas, music and dancing are the
535 most important aspect of the performance accompanying church rituals, and outweigh the spoken play (Spanish, *relato* or *coloquio*).

In Corpus Christi and its Octave, the farmers take their oxen to the churchyard and pretend to plow while the other crafts represented in the village also display their work and make little samples which they later throw to the crowd. A mock market and a greased pole also make this festival an attractive entertainment. Dances of the Conquest and of the Negroes, and a Maypole dance (Spanish *tejedores*, weavers) have been reported for this occasion but seem to be obsolete now.[4]

The most important dances are performed during the Christmas-Epiphany season and on the patron saint's day. The dance performed in most towns on the day of the patron saint is that known as *moros y soldados* (Moors and soldiers) or by slightly different words. It represents the Moors' defeat by the soldiers and their conversion.[5] In some places this dance is also performed on the Day of the Cross (May 3rd).[6]

3. Foster, 1946, 210-214.
4. León, 1906, 463-4; Beals, 1946, 125-27; Foster, 1948, 216-18.
5. León, 1906, 431 *ff*; Beals, 1946, 131, 144, 156.
6. For Angahuan, see Beals, 1946, 143; for eighteenth century Tangamandapio and Jacona, see Estado, 1944, 470, 477; León, 1906, 431.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P 256] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

796 536 535 The plays and dances performed during Christmas and Epiphany represent people who comment on the birth of the Holy Child and come to worship him and to bring him presents. The usual name for these dances is *pastorela* (pastoral) and the main characters are shepherds. Sometimes other characters are added, often wearing masks, such as old men, savages (*apaches*), Negroes, ranchers, the Three Kings, hermits, angels, and devils. In some places the *pastorela* includes a number of these characters, while in others some of them perform in the pastorela and the others form special dances.

In Cherán, for instance, there is a dance of Negroes, performed on December 25th, another called *melebris* which includes Negroes, old men and savages (December 14-24), a pastorela of shepherdesses (December 24-6), and a dance of old men including the Three Kings (January 6).[7] The only complete pastorela which has been published (unfortunately only in Tarascan) comes from Pichátaro, 1883.[8] It had shepherds, a ranch boy and girl, hermit, angels, and three devils (Luzbel, Sin, and Cunning). The first part, performed by the devils, is followed by the presentation of gifts brought by the other characters to the Holy Child. The pastorela from Capacuaro looks similar for it has first a stage play by devils, followed by a dance with a play by ranchers, shepherds, angels, Europeans, and hermits who act as buffoons.[9] In another published text (from Quinceo, 1912), the characters are old men who not only bring presents to the Holy Child but also discuss other aspects of the Faith.[10] Other villages have slightly different Christmas dances or pastorelas, all with different combinations of the same basic characters.[11]

796 535 A dance can become an element of ceremony in itself. Taking a dance group to a saint can be an individual vow. In famous fiestas which draw pilgrims from many villages, dancers come to perform for that saint although the festival celebrated may have nothing to do with the original meaning of the dance. For instance, *Santiagos* (Saint James dance) from Pátzcuaro, *Pastorela* from Zipiajo and the Old Men's dance from Cucuchucho (both Christmas dances) come to Tzintzuntzan to dance for the *Señor del Resgate* (an Ecce Homo).[12]

7. Beals, 1946, 144-154.
8. León, 1906, 433-52.
9. Beals, 194, 154-5.
10. León and Contreras, 1944.
11. Beals, 1946, 144, 155, 218; León, 1906, 435; Foster, 1948, 204.
12. Foster, 1948, 208.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

796 Different towns have reputations for
giving dances in which they excel, and
535 these are taken to other places. Lately,
through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.[13]

796 The organization of the festivals adds
further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships *(mayordomías)* in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor *(mayordomo)* the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The cargueros usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of cargueros and dancers. The change of cargueros, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.[14]

178 These affairs are presently in an ad-
796 vanced stage of secularization. Their social and entertainment value is often greater than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many cases obscure. Major festivals have many
[541] other entertainments such as fireworks *(castillo)* or bull riding *(jaripeo)*.

796 Also very important is the connection
with trade. On great festivals a market is
517 held and people come in pilgrimage, combining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.[15]

The Traditional Organization of the Cult

794 The organization of the cult among Mexi-
621 can Indians has always been closely connected with the political and social organization of the communities.

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13. Foster, 1948, 188.
14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133-4.
15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1945.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34 .
Sierra Tarascans

CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By Bernice A. Kaplan

ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Canaquas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their performance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

*Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Michigan Folklore Society on March 24, 1950, in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Aided by a grant from the Viking Fund, Inc., to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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beaters, *rebosos* or shawls, ponchos, small loaves of bread, and so forth, and giving these away to the bystanders.[1] This custom was not observed in 1948, although we were told that it had been carried on only the year before. Various reasons were given for these lapses. Some said that the people were tired of the old ways and did not want to bother. One possible explanation may rest on the fact that the priest had a large building program under way and the pueblo's new church was about half finished. It may be that the priest did not wish to divert money from his building program by allowing his parishoners to spend it on lavish holiday expenditures. It would seem likely that there would be less money for the church building program if the fiesta were elaborate, but the opposite argument is also plausible. As evidence of this we were told, a month before the fiesta, that the celebration would, "be like in the old times because they (i.e. the church officials) want to raise a lot of money for the church, and they are sure that if they don't have a good 'Corpus' like in the old days then they won't be able to make much money." This person indicated that it was unlikely that anyone would be very generous if he did not have a good time. Nonetheless, the other view evidently prevailed—at least in outward behavior.

As the time for the fiesta approached, many members of the community "played down" the holiday, perhaps to make the event, when it actually took place, seem that much better. It was also repeatedly said that the political upheaval which occurred a few weeks prior to the holiday—the duly elected mayor was ousted from office by the defeated candidate—had divided the town. The result of this was that several of the trade groups chose not to cooperate in "making" the holiday. Despite both the prior maximizing and minimizing of the approaching fiesta, there was plenty of noise and good fun during the holiday.

It was the mayor's band, a group of from fifteen to eighteen brass and woodwind players who were brought to Paracho especially for the occasion as the mayor's contribution to the fiesta, that provided the music for the Huanancha dances. These musicians came by bus from the pueblo of Ichan, one of the so-called "eleven pueblos" on the Morelia-Guadalajara highway, a distance of some eighteen miles from Paracho. It may be possible to infer from the prior anxiety about the success of the holiday, and from the fact that the dancers were asked to participate only three days before the holiday, that the mayor himself feared he would lose status if the fiesta were not at least in some ways as in the old days. This may be the reason that the presentation of the dance was continued, as one means of keeping the good will of the townspeople. This is purely in the realm of conjecture, however.

The dance of the Huanancha maidens is one of the two special dances performed traditionally in Paracho. It is performed on Corpus Christi, on the day

[1] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Vida Actual de los Tarascos," in Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monografía histórica, etnográfica, y económica* (Mexico, 1940), p. 146. In 1940 the miniature objects were made and then were sold on the following day. "It is said that formerly they did not sell, but that they took them to the church and later threw them away." (Translated from the Spanish).

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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535 of Santa Ursula (October 21st), and whenever there is a fiesta for the Virgin. We were told that the dance is reputed to be of pre-Columbian origin. According to Nicolás León, however, this is not the case. He says, in part, ". . . The institution of the Guananchas dates from the period in which the illustrious Sr. Quiroga founded the pueblo hospital of Santa Fe de la Laguna in Michoacán . . ." León goes on to say,

> The name *guananchecha* signifies to carry, or he who carries something, and is derived from the (Tarascan) verb *Huani*. The office which is performed by those who carry this name justifies the etymology, for they are the women who carry on their shoulders the image of the most saintly Virgin in the processions which occur every Saturday.[2]

León also quotes from the chronicles of the Reverendo padre Fray Alonso La Rea who, writing in the late 16th Century, refers to the Guananchas in Uruapan. La Rea writes as follows:

> I have instructed that a procession to the Virgin of the Conception be made on Saturdays, the image to be carried on the shoulders of four of the most important Indian women, with their garlands and crowns, to the principal church. (These women receive the name of Guananchecha in Tarascan.) At the church the solemn mass is sung, I decorate the church with much sedge and flowers, as if every Saturday were the named fiesta. After the mass the Virgin is returned to the hospital in the same manner.[3]

In the *Pindecuario* of the Parish of San Francisco de Pichátaro, published in 1731, there is reference to the office of *uananchatiecha*, the women carriers of the Virgin. These women in association with other officers of the "Hospital" of this community carried the image of the Virgin about on Saturdays and Mondays. There was, apparently, a feast associated with the Saturday processions for foods of various sorts were required to be brought to the "Hospital."[4]

535 554 In Paracho the performers are young girls, approximately from seven to twelve years of age. In earlier days in Paracho, and apparently in several other Tarascan pueblos even today, the Huananchas or Huananchichas had the year-round task of caring for the pueblo's image of the Virgin and of carrying this image in processions. Today, in Paracho at least, all that remains of the earlier practice is the performance of the dance. About three days before the holiday in 1948 the parents of the seven girls who had been nominated to take part in the dance were approached by a committee of men to ask their permission. Certain expenses, such as the purchase of special dresses and flowers for the crown and possibly for refreshments, are incumbent upon the performers and their families, and conceivably some parents might wish to turn down the offer. It is not possible to say with certainty whether status in the community had anything to do with the selection of the dancers. One of those

[2] Nicolás León, "Los Tarascos, Notas Históricas, Étnicas y Antropológicas," *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Mexico*, 2a época, T. I, Mexico, 1906, p. 331, footnote 33, (translated from the Spanish).

[3] *Op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T.III, 1906, p. 307, (translated from the Spanish).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 422.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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chosen was born in another community and another was technically illegitimate—since her parents, although living together for many years, had never been wed either in civil or religious ceremony. The Huananchas came from all quarters of the pueblo. Participation itself, through enabling one to be among those directly concerned with "making the holiday," may well have been a means of acquiring prestige in the community. The Huananchas *may* have been chosen in the same manner as were the *Cargueros* (the officers of the trade groups) in the past. That is, a committee decided who should participate and then notified those nominated; these people might then beg off if they had good arguments. This was the procedure outlined for naming the *Cargueros* who were then responsible for organizing the various trade groups in past years, however no specific comments were made about the manner of choice of the Huananchas.

In the dance all of the little girls wore pink satin or sateen dresses. These apparently were made for the occasion. On their heads they wore gilded crowns with brightly colored artificial flowers attached. The elegance of each dancer's dress and the number of sprays of flowers on her crown were subjects of much comparison, both by the dancers themselves and by their mothers. It was observed that one of the dancers was visibly distressed over some unkindly comments about her hair which was not curled like that of the others, and because her crown bore fewer flowers. There is thus an informal, but effective, status ranking of the dancers and their families in terms of the costumes worn.

In the dance the four biggest girls—representing those who formerly used to carry the image of the Virgin—form a rectangle. Between them are the three shorter and younger girls. (See "a," Fig. 1). We were told that the center dancer of these last three represents the pennant bearer and is supposed to carry a blue pennant. She is known as *Pendonpasi*. One of the others was supposed to carry copal or incense, and the third one a candle. Actually, the dancers carried nothing when they performed in 1948. It is probable that the description given really refers to what the Huananchas used to carry in processions, and not what they held in their hands during the dance.

The only step for the entire dance is an extremely slow and, to the outsider, monotonous "simple" but the patterns which the dancers perform vary.[1] When dancing in the town hall for the various political and other officials the performance continued for approximately 45 minutes; at other times the dance was limited to about 20 minutes by elimination of the repetition of the various patterns. In the town hall and elsewhere the girls were surrounded on all sides by observers during their performance. In the description which follows, "front" refers to the two dancers closest to the officials, "back," to the two dancers farthest from the guests of honor. The three other dancers form a center row. All dancers face the guests of honor most of the time.

The dance begins with all seven girls making two very slow turns in place in

[1] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Here the authors have the following to say about a religious dance which they observed in the Internado in Paracho: "The dances are very prolonged and they always last several hours, accompanied by a terribly monotonous music." (Translated from the Spanish).

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a clockwise direction (see "a," Fig. 1). The tempo and nature of the music then change and the dancer in the center (the *pendonpasi*) makes a half turn to the left and dances around each of the two back Huananchichas, then circles each of the remaining two dancers in the center row, first one and then the other. Next the front Huananchichas are circled and the *pendonpasi* returns to the center and turns once to the right in place (see "b," Fig. 1). Now the two back Huananchas move forward. The one on the left crosses the one on the right behind the *pendonpasi* and continues to circle first the dancer to the right of the *pendonpasi* in the same row and then the Huananchicha in the left front. After this she returns to her place in the back left corner. Her partner in the meantime is circling the dancer to the left of the *pendonpasi* in the same row and then the right front Huanancha and is returning to her place in the back right corner (see "c," Fig. 1). Next, the two Huananchichas in the front proceed in approximately the same fashion, except that instead of circling the two rear Huananchas they skirt them without completing the circle (see "d," Fig. 1). When they have returned to their places, the remaining two center dancers start to do their "turns." These involve circling first the front Huanancha opposite their standing position and then the back Huanancha who is standing on the diagonal from this, and finally returning to their starting places (see "e," Fig. 1). When this is completed all dancers take a half turn in place clockwise and return to starting position counterclockwise (see "f," Fig. 1), then the three center dancers step close together, the rear Huananchichas come up beside them (see "g," Fig. 1) and together they march slowly forward between the two front Huananchichas, bringing all into one straight line (see "h," Fig. 1). At this point the girls are given a large bowl full of confetti and small hard candies which they throw to the assembled guests of honor who are at the front of the dance area.

The dance is supposed to be performed twice in public, once at the church or in the street in front of the church, and once for the mayor of the town and such visiting dignitaries as may be invited to observe the performance in the mayor's office. In 1948 no performance of the dance took place in the street; the priest came to the mayor's office to watch the dancing there. Following this the girls, sometimes their mothers and always a group of older women in whose charge the dancers are, go to call on the important merchants and dance for them. After this, the dance is performed at the home of each of the dancers. The neighbors all crowd into the patio to watch. There is no set time for arriving on these rounds, so no special preparations can be made. One simply hears the music coming down one's street, and if interested follows it to its destination. If you happen to have one of the dancers in your own family the assumption is that the group will come to your patio eventually. The older women who escort the dancers were, in the past, the organizers of the fiesta, and during the year they used to help to keep the church in good order and decorated. These women also used to operate a "hospital" (after the models first established by Don Vasco de Quiroga in the 16th century) near the church. Supposedly their presence with the dancers is to serve as chaperones for them, although some of the residents were heard to comment that the opposite may

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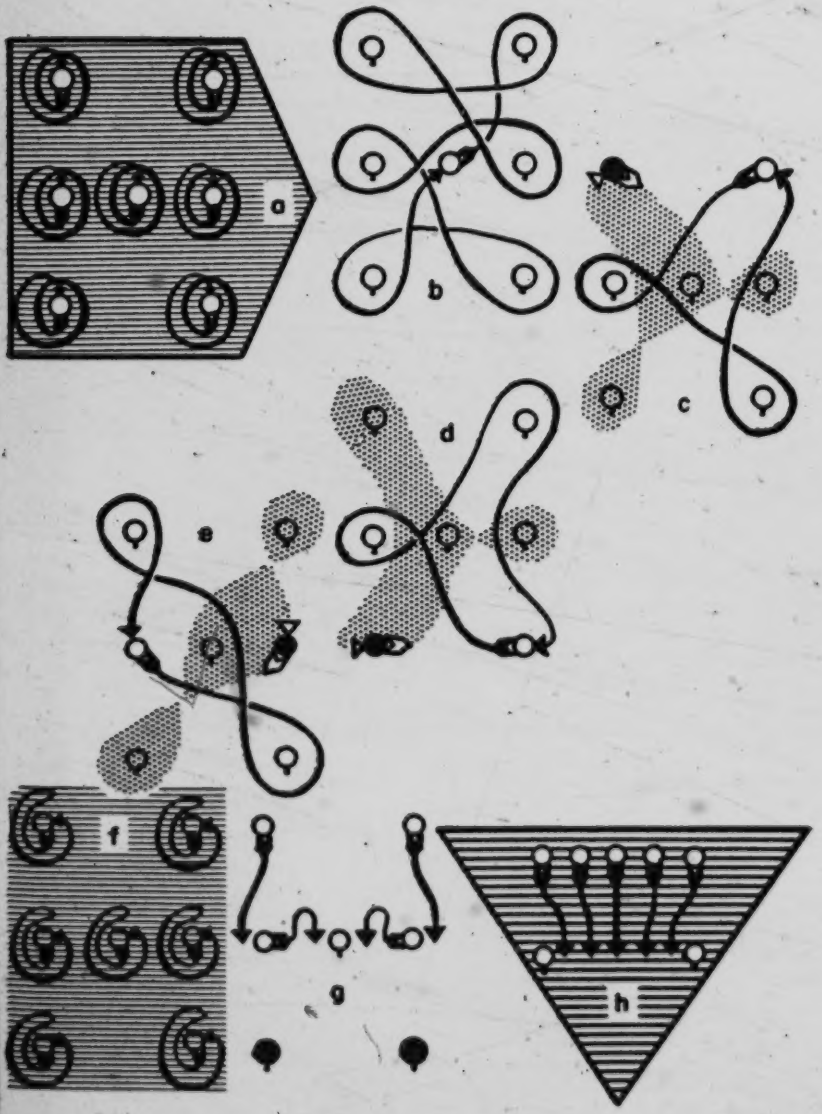

FIG. 1. Huanancha Dance.

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well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huancancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huancancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said it is called by another name there. The Huancancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1903), II, 388.

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Huananchas in Cheran.[8] There the girls were chosen either on the basis of a vow made by their parents, or else they were nominated by the *prioste*, the woman in charge of certain of the ceremonial round of affairs. In Cheran, the function of the girls was definitely of a religious nature since they were expected to clean the church periodically, to bring flowers to decorate the church and to perform other such duties. Although the dance in which these girls participate, known as a Pastorela, does not parallel that of the Paracho Huananchas, their present functions seem to match very closely what were reported to have been the functions of the Paracho Huananchas until recently.

In 1906 León apparently observed the functioning of the *guananchas* in Arentepácua for he writes:

> On December 8th they celebrated the Fiesta de La Purisima with feather dances, fireworks, and a procession in the Hospital, from which the *guananchas* come to outshine themselves. These are the young maidens of the pueblo, into whose charge is put the care of decorating the altar of the Virgin, and more than that they have the duty of carrying the image on a litter during the procession. For this duty they put on their best dresses and crown their head with a garland of natural flowers. In this fiesta they are present at the church all day, where they remain singing praises to the Virgin in Tarascan.[9]

Beals also reports that prior to 1932 there were in the mestizo town of Chilchota four specially appointed women known as Roseras or Huananchitas whose duties included care of the Virgin, dressing of the image on special occasions, and the floral decoration of the litter on which the image was carried.[10] They were also expected to walk in the religious procession. In these processions one of the Roseras carried a spray of flowers while another carried a pennant. In Chilchota, in contrast to the custom in other pueblos where the office of Huananchicha is mentioned, the Roseras or Huananchichas are older, married women. Although the office of Huananchicha is present in Chilchota there appears to be no religious dancing associated with it in which the office holders themselves participate.

In this same study Beals reports that in Paracho on August 12, 1940, he observed a dance of little girls in the streets and in the mayor's office. In 1940 the church was elaborately decorated with flowers, vegetables and fruit. Saint's images were placed at the four corners of the atrium, and following the noon mass a procession moved counterclockwise about the atrium stopping before each saint's image. At that time, according to Beals, the dancers formed part of the procession.[11] In 1948 there was no religious procession. On the other hand, the Huananchichas and their "music" did lead the parade of the bulls to the bull ring on the first day of the spectacle.

From the foregoing it may be seen that the office of the Huanancha maidens is not one limited to the pueblo of Paracho, but that in Paracho—at least by

[8] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.
[9] Nicolás León, *op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T. III, p. 468, (translated from the Spanish).
[10] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–219.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 130–131.

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1948—some of the earlier functions of the office had disappeared and little save the outer formality of the performance of the dance remained. The fact that the performance has not yet been entirely eliminated indicates that the dance still holds meaning for at least some of the members of the community. It may do no more than give status and prestige to the families of the girls who take part. Yet if this is so, it is of some interest that this method of gaining position in the community continues to be recognized and approved. On the other hand, it seems plausible to explain the survival of the dance of the Huananchichas as a loose bond between the earlier sacred beliefs, practices and orientations of the community and the newer, more secular, emphases which are continually gaining ground. For the majority of the younger members of the audience it may well have been that the performance of the dance held no very deep emotional significance, that it was merely another spectacle of the Corpus Christi fiesta. Many of the older people, on the other hand, seemed to derive genuine satisfaction from its performance, if only because it reminded them of the past.

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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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were the four orbs residing in the heavens.

Huriata daily glittered in the sky, but the Purépecha represented him symbolically with three concentric circles which signified his union with the moon at the moment they created Cueróhperi. The lovely daughter of wisdom, Cueróhperi, was represented as standing nude with her long hair gathered in the form of a crown, with her hands resting beneath her breasts offering perpetual nourishment, and with her womb always ready to give forth fruit. In her they saw nature, to whose immutable laws all things are obedient.

Dance of the Viejitos

Related to the above legend is the still famous Dance of the Viejitos (little old men). It has its origins in the ancient past, but how old it is no one knows. Such a dance existed before the days of the Conquest, and the influence of the legend of creation is discernible in it.

The dancers of the Tarascan villages around Lake Pátzcuaro (Fig. 1) carry heavy staffs with an animal's head carved on the handle. They wear white cotton trousers, tunics with red sashes tied at the side, wide-brimmed hats with low crowns, and painted wooden masks depicting old faces.

The musician directs the dancing *viejitos*, usually youths, who dance collectively and individually, each trying to outdo the other in steps and clowning. In one of their serious figures, called "the cross of the four stars," the dancers form four files, each pointing in one of the cardinal directions. The four stars presumably represent the four orbs within which was the abode of Curicaueri.

In the little village of Petamba, sometimes as many as forty *viejitos* take part. One dancer wears a mask of a pretty white face, symbolic of Cutzi, the moon goddess (Locke, 1956, p. 372, illustrates this mask). The dancers form two files and each one dances with the woman wearing the white mask; then they form a great circle around her; next, in pairs, they pay reverential respect to

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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535 her and perform a special dance. The circle, the reverential respect, and the dance are repeated until the participants grow weary.

[796] [103] [131] The Dance of the Viejitos is performed chiefly during the religious fiestas of December, especially in the town of Pátzcuaro, a short distance from the old imperial village of Tzintzuntzan (Fig. 1).

JUST AS THE BIRDS

Historical Comment

175 642 131 With their capital at Tzintzuntzan (Place of the Hummingbird), the vast Tarascan empire extended beyond the boundaries of the modern state of Michoacán and, next to the Aztec empire, was the largest political unit in Mexico. In spite of several accounts by early Spanish friars (Basalenque, 1886; Beaumont, 1932; Escobar, 1924; Mendieta, 1870; Rea, 1882), perhaps less is known about the origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascans than of any other major Mexican group.

17 [197] Traditional Mexican hypotheses derive them from the northwest, suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Philologically, this theory does not hold up; the Tarascan language has no family connection with other Mexican idioms and must be classified as an independent, isolated family (Mason, 1940). Recent archaeological work (Brand, 1944, Goggin, 1943, p. 57; Osborne, 1943) indicates a more southeasterly origin, possibly from the Mixteca of Oaxaca and Guerrero either down the east arm of the Balsas River valley or along the Pacific Coast and thence northward up the Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués rivers into central Michoacán (Fig. 2).

173 829 [814] The Tarascans have never indulged in scholarly hypotheses. For them the answer to their early origins and travels unfolds in the legend of the birds. This legend supports the theory of a southern origin.